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(ILGWU)

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Justice (Vol. 47, Iss. 17)

International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU)

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Comments

Justice was the official publication of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union ILGWU from 1919 to 1995. Editions of *Justice* were published in English, Italian, Spanish, and Yiddish. When compared side by side, the content of some of these different editions of *Justice* shows significant differences. This is the English-language edition of *Justice*.

JUSTICE

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

Vol. XLVII, No. 17

Jersey City, N.J., September 1, 1965

Price 10 Cents

WANTED

EXPERIENCED SEWERS ON LADY'S
ROBES AND PAJAMAS, STARTING TO WORK
FOR OUR RUSH SEASON BETWEEN
NOW AND CHRISTMAS.
YOU ARE PRIVILEGED TO QUIT
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THE RIGHT TO DISCHARGE YOU WHEN
YOUR SERVICES ARE NO LONGER
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"THE RIGHT TO DISCHARGE"

This sign in the store-front window of the More Manufacturing Co. of Moline, Illinois testifies to the fact that as Labor Day, 1965 approaches, the spirit of anti-unionism still endures in the land. Back in 1961, More Co. employees voted to be represented by the ILGWU. When the boss refused to bargain they filed charges with the National Labor Relations Board. The boss went out of business. The boss came back into business. The boss refused to rehire them. He still is refusing even while this sign is in his window. Older and experienced hands are out of luck. Younger ones are given the privilege of quitting in return for which the company reserves "the right to discharge you . . ."

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LBJ's Other 'Must' Bills Wending Way Thru Congress

The Johnson administration and the 89th Congress have already put together the most extensive record of liberal legislation since the first 100 days of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal. This astonishing record includes enactment of legislation on voting rights, medicine, taxes, housing and anti-poverty programs.

Meanwhile, churning through the legislative hopper are other measures labeled top priority by President Johnson whose enactment in this session of Congress would further cap the list of achievements. These pieces of legislation call for the repeal of Section 14(b), raising the minimum wage, applying federal standards to the unemployment insurance system (see General Secretary-Treasurer Louis Stulberg's statement on Page 8), liberalizing and easing the flow of immigration, and providing federal aid in the field of higher education.

At his televised press conference on August 25, in reply to a reporter's question as to the administration's present stand on Section 14(b), President Johnson forcefully reaffirmed his call for repeal of this section of the Taft-Hartley Act that allows state "right-to-work" laws. On the other pending measures still awaiting final enactment by Congress, administration leaders are pressing hard for speedy action.

Sign Works Measure To Help Unemployed

A new \$3.3 billion program for local public works and regional economic development has been passed by Congress and signed into law by President Johnson. The Senate, by voice vote, approved the measure and accepted House amendments raising the total for public works from \$400 million to \$500 million a year for four years.

The public works section of the bill—involving the bulk of funds—authorizes federal financing of up to 80 percent of the cost of local projects that cities and other communities already have in prospect but for which they lack money. Such projects would include water and sewer systems, industrial parks, research centers and vocational schools.

Supporters of the administration and labor-backed proposal emphasized the significance of such facilities to areas suffering from severe unemployment and economic blight.

The program blankets in economic aid to areas of chronic

and heavy unemployment previously given assistance under the 1961 Area Redevelopment Act. It provides for an annual investment of \$170 million in loans and loan guarantees for hard-hit communities and for business firms that locate or expand activities in areas classified as economically depressed.

It authorizes, also, the development of multi-state development programs in regions of common economic interest, comparable to that approved by Congress in the Appalachia program earlier this year.

The new public works, regional planning and economic development program got under way last March with a special message from President Johnson urging creation of the program,

House Liberals Move to Bypass Rules Unit on Minimum Wage Bill

Following the lead of last month's precedent-setting action on the bill to repeal 14(b), House liberals are again planning to bypass the conservative-oriented Rules Committee—which has been effective in bottling vitally-needed labor legislation in the past—by invoking the 21 day rule if necessary to bring the minimum wage bill to a floor vote.



MEDICARE SMILES: Evelyn Dubrow, ILGWU legislative representative, and John Edelman, center, President of National Council of Senior Citizens, celebrate signing of Medicare bill with Democratic congressional supporters, Senator Paul H. Douglas and Representative Roman C. Pucinski, both of Illinois.

On July 26 administration leaders proved the value of the new 21 day rule by successfully using it for the first time to break a three-week stranglehold clamped on 14(b) repeal by the Rules Committee headed by Rep. Howard W. Smith (D-Va.).

New Previso

Under this rule, which had been adopted in January to insure that progressive legislation would no longer be held in committee limbo, a majority vote of the House can bring a measure to the floor once it has been approved by the appropriate committee and the Rules Committee has failed to release it after 21 days.

The new minimum wage bill okayed by the House Labor Committee will raise the wage floor for workers in interstate commerce to \$1.75 a series of step-ups. It also increases coverage to 7.2 million workers now unprotected.

If passed by Congress, the bill will be the second major improvement in minimum wage since the presidential election of 1960. In 1961 the minimum wage was boosted from \$1 an hour to \$1.25, and for the first time in more than 20 years the Congress also expanded the number of workers protected by the law at the same time that the wage rate was lifted.

The full House Labor Committee rejected by an 18-12 vote the subcommittee proposal for doubletime pay for work beyond 48 hours in a single week with a gradual reduction to 45 hours. This amendment had been strongly backed by the administration.

The committee also defeated a labor-supported move to provide for a statutory workweek of less than 40 hours after which overtime pay would be required.

Pres. Dubrow and other AFL-CIO leaders, in testimony before the Senate subcommittee, which is expected to report its version of the bill soon, urged a minimum of \$2 an hour, a reduction in the workweek from 40 to 35 hours, and doubletime pay instead of time and a half for work beyond the statutory limit set.

Since 1933 garment workers have been demonstrating the effectiveness of creating more job opportunities and sustaining industry operations by utilizing the 35 hour workweek together with improvements in the wage base,

place all nations outside our hemisphere on an equal footing.

Prospective immigrants will be accepted on a first-come-first-served basis after priority has been given to families of citizens and resident aliens of the U.S., members of the arts and professions, workers for whom a job has been assured that does not displace an American worker, and for refugees from racial, religious, or political persecution.

Immigration Reform Set for Final Voting

On July 23, 1965, President John F. Kennedy sent a new historic message to Congress proposing sweeping immigration reforms that would eliminate discrimination based on national origins and admit immigrants to the U.S. on

a first-come-first-served basis with special consideration for families of American citizens and people possessing skills needed by the American community.

And this year, President Johnson repeated the urgent need for these reforms when he declared that, "A nation that was built by immigrants of all lands should

not be asking: 'In what country were you born?'"

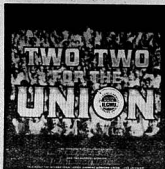
On August 25, by the overwhelming majority of 318-95, the House of Representatives answered the President's call for action and approved the Kennedy-inspired bill to eliminate the national origins quota system. The following day, a Senate Judiciary subcommittee voted 6-2 to accept the basic provisions of the bill passed in the House.

Before a joint Senate-House measure is ready for Johnson's signature, however, a major fight is expected on the question of whether or not to set a ceiling on immigration from nations in the Western Hemisphere. A proposal by Congressman Clark MacGregor (R-Minn.) to place a 115,000 annual limit on immigration from the Americas was defeated by the House, but a similar amendment was voted into the Senate subcommittee bill. Sponsored by Senator Sam Ervin (D-N.C.), the Senate amendment would limit to 120,000 the annual number of immigrants from the nations of this hemisphere.

Bill's Provisions

The House bill calls for the present quota system to be phased out by July 1, 1968. Immigration will then be allowed at the rate of 170,000 people each year for all countries outside the Western Hemisphere, with a limitation of 20,000 from any one country. This will not result in an appreciable increase in the total number of immigrants but it will

HEARTBREAK and HISTORY



A unique record that will stir you—and bring tears, President Johnson on the heartfelt hopes of our nation in his address at the Union Health Center; President Kennedy on the difficult tasks of our time in his talk at ILGWU Housing dedication; Pauline Newman proudly portraying the courage of ILGWU pioneers; Judy Ackerman, fighting back tears as she tells ILGWU Convention of Southern strike ordeal.

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SOUTHEAST INSTITUTE: At a four-day institute in Atlanta last month, three experts from the Northeast Department and Southeast Region staff members and chair-ladies of dress shops a thorough analysis of how piece rates should be figured. The experts were Hedy Ferreira, Bob Fontaine and Bella Scott. One chairlady commented that she couldn't recall when she learned so much useful information on the piece rate procedure. Speakers at the institute included Martin Morand, Southeast Region director, and Nick Bonanno, the region's assistant director. Morand pointed out that he wanted staff members and shop chairladies to be really expert in figuring

piece rates so that they'll be able to see through the highly technical explanations plant engineers sometimes use which members can't make out. He said that the institute in Atlanta was the first of a planned series, and that future institutes will be organized on a regional basis so as to involve the largest possible number of chairladies and committee members. In picture on left, Bob Fontaine diagrams a garment. At right, Bella Scott explains how garment is put together. Expressions on faces of chairladies in center photo, reflect keen interest in the proceedings of Southeast Institute.

S. Carolina AFL-CIO Backs ILGWU Drive To Organize Marlene 200 in Judy Bond Picketing 'Blitz' 4 Gertz Stores in L.I.

Support for the ILGWU drive to organize some 3,000 workers employed by Marlene Industries in seven plants in South Carolina, Tennessee and Alabama was voted unanimously by the state convention of the South Carolina AFL-CIO at Charleston last month.

After hearing a report on the low wages and other inferior standards at Marlene plants, and on the company-organized efforts to coerce and intimidate ILGWU organizers, as well as its own workers, the convention appealed to all of its affiliates in South Carolina to cooperate in the ILGWU campaign. The report was made by ILGWU business agent Mary Cameron.

Several weeks earlier, Matthew Lynch, president of the Tennessee State Labor Council, appeared at the Marlene plant in Decaturville, Tennessee, with Martin Morand, director of the Southeast Region, and distributed copies of a local newspaper carrying an ILGWU ad directed to Marlene workers. "We welcome the support of our fellow-trade unionists in this area," Morand said. "It has already been of substantial help to us."

Other Actions

Meanwhile, as Justice went to press, the National Labor Relations Board's investigation into union charges of anti-labor practices is nearing completion, and action by the board is expected in the near future.

The Southeast Region is continuing to broadcast radio "spot" announcements in Marlene plant areas which feature ILGWU members in Southeast shops telling how much union membership has meant to them and to their families. The same theme is being used in newspaper advertisements.

"We feel that this is having a very good effect not only on Marlene workers but on the communities in which they live," said Morand. "One Tennessee newspaper, which was hostile to our union at first, is now giving really impartial treatment to our whole campaign."

ILG Pinpoints Medicare Plans As U.S. Bares Health Racket

Since the enactment of Medicare, swindlers have started a new racket of selling health insurance at a discount.

If a man comes to your home, says that he is from the social security office, explains the government's Medicare program and then offers to sell you health insurance at a discount—don't buy it, warns the ILGWU Health and Welfare Benefits Department. The man is probably a swindler.

The Social Security Administration has reported that confidence men are posing as government agents, and defrauding senior citizens by pretending to sign them up for Medicare coverage.

The cruelest part of this racket is that not only does the victim lose money he may desperately need, he is also misled into believing that he is already signed up for Medicare coverage. When he fails to enroll in Medicare during the regular enrollment period he loses the opportunity to get this much needed protection.

Enrollment for Medicare begins September 1, 1965. Although the Medicare program does not begin until July 1, 1966 persons over 65 must be prepared to act now, reports the ILGWU Research Department.

There are two types of programs — basic hospitalization insurance which is free, and voluntary medical insurance which will cost \$3 a month if you enroll on time.

If you are 65 or over and receiving social security benefits you are automatically qualified for basic hospital insurance. No action on your part will be necessary.

If for any reason you are not now receiving social security checks, and will have reached age 65 by the end of this year, you must report immediately to your social security office in order to qualify for basic hospital insurance. Bring with you some proof of age. If you do not already have a social security number you will be issued one. This should be done before March 31, 1966 in any case.

Voluntary Plan

All persons who reach age 65

before the end of this year are eligible for the voluntary medical benefits at a cost of \$3 a month. Those people now receiving social security checks will receive an application card in the mail. This card must be mailed back before March 31, 1966.

If you do not enroll in the voluntary plan before March 31, 1966 you will have to wait until October 1967 for another chance and then the benefits will not be available until 1968. Moreover, it will cost you more than \$3 a month if you enroll later. The voluntary plan is worth much more to you than \$3 a month and it is generally advised that persons who are eligible should sign up for it as soon as possible.

Learn The Facts

Those persons not now getting social security checks will have to enroll at the local social security office before March 31, 1966 in order to qualify.

None of the hospital or medical benefits under social security will be available before July 1, 1966. Do not give up any private medical insurance you may now have until then.

Learn all the facts about this new program. They are available in two pamphlets issued by the Social Security Administration. They are yours if you fill out the following coupon and mail to JUSTICE-ILGWU, 1710 Broadway, New York 19, N.Y.

Justice-ILGWU

1710 Broadway
New York 19, N.Y.

Please send me free a copy of "Health Insurance for the Aged" and "Social Security Amendments 1965."

Name _____

Address _____

City and State _____

Local _____

N.Y. ILGers Kickoff Drive To Elect Nonpartisan Team

In what is shaping up as one of the most exciting political seasons for New Yorkers since Fiorello LaGuardia ran his first successful fusion campaign, ILGers are waiting no time getting right into the thick of things. From now until election eve New York members will have the issues analyzed at local meetings by guest speakers including As-

sistant Pres. Gus Tyler, director of the ILGWU Political and Education Department, Evelyn Dubrow, ILGWU legislative representative, and David Wells, department assistant director.

At a recent meeting of New York Beltsmakers' Local 40, Wells helped launch the local's drive for a November victory for the Liberal-non partisan team of John V. Lindsay, Timothy Costello, and Milton Molten with a speech highlighting the need for a coalition city government in light of the mounting problems New York City must contend with in the next decade.

"To deal effectively with these problems we must combine the talents of the best men available regardless of political party labels," he said.

Local 40 shop chairmen and chairwomen are actively campaigning for the reintroduction of proportional representation in city council elections. The P.R. system was especially designed to protect the voting rights of minority groups and had been proven successful in city elections from 1937 to 1945.

Wells emphasized that this year New Yorkers will go to the polls to elect a new state legislature as well as a new city administration and therefore the Liberal Party line is more important than ever before for enabling the voters to select the best candidates for each office at both the state and city levels.

On the state level, voters this November will be asked to decide whether or not a constitutional convention should be called. The primary reason for proposing the convention is to introduce constitutional reforms that would reposition the legislature in line with the Supreme Court's "one man-one vote" ruling. If the convention is approved, delegates will be elected in November, 1969 and the convention will be held in April, 1967.

There are 12.7 "non-supervisory" workers in the U.S. today who are not covered by either federal or state minimum wage laws.

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Longtime Evader Milton In COT Organizing Net

A longtime holdout, Milton Sportswear and its subsidiary, Windsor Coat and Country Coat, became the first large firms to be unionized as a result of the organizing drive recently inaugurated by the Cloak Out-of-Town Department, reports Vice Pres. Henry Mendelsohn, general manager of the New York Cloak

Joint Board and supervisor of COT.

Picketing activities last month at both New York and Jersey City, New Jersey, shops of Milton Sportswear led to the collapse of the firm's longstanding non-union status, netting union wages and benefits to some 100 workers in the first time pact.

The initial success followed on the heels of intensive survey by both organizations to pinpoint and organize all non-union producing coats, suits and sportswear in New Jersey, Connecticut, Hudson Valley, Long Island and Staten Island.

The survey took the form of investigations into non-union contracting firms to determine their production, operations, relationship to jobbers and manufacturers, trucking sources and other data. Information developed by this means is being used to determine techniques that will enhance the organizing campaign. Also supervising the joint venture is Harry Lopatin, COT organization director.

Contract negotiations were spearheaded by Murray Edelstein, COT assistant general manager, and Mayer Finkel, manager of the New York Cloak Organization Department. Picketing activities were directed by cloak joint board organizers Sam Mileti and Morton Becker and COT Local 133 business agents Al Tambe and Howard Rothstein.

The cloak organizing team expressed appreciation to Douglas Levin, manager of New York Office Distribution Workers' Local 99, and to George Irvine, manager of New York Cloak and Dress Drivers' Local 102 for the cooperation of their locals.

'22 English Class Members Set to Begin This Month

New York Dressmakers' Local 22 will begin the fall sessions of its English Class this month, reports Vice Pres. Israel Breslow, local manager. Registration can be made at the local's educational department 1, Room 617, 218 West 40th St., Manhattan.



CAMPUS 'GROUNDWELL': Members of the Southern New England District Council during lunch break on campus of the University of Connecticut. Some 250 members attended recent institute.

Wage Increases in Sweep Of Canadian Agreements

Some 250 workers have won substantial wage increases and other major gains in two recently concluded renewal pacts with Hamilton Linerie Co. Ltd., of Montreal, and Dorsey (Canada) Ltd., of Drummondville, Quebec, reports Vice Pres. Bernard Shamo. Hamilton Linerie, a firm employing some 110 workers, and the Montreal Joint

Dressmakers' Union, negotiated a 3-year contract which expires May 31, 1968. Gains for the workers include an immediate pay hike of 5 cents an hour and an additional bonus of 2 1/4 cents an hour as of June 1, 1967, 2 additional paid holidays, and employer contribution of 1 1/2 percent to the welfare fund.

GEB to Meet September 7

The ILGWU General Executive Board is scheduled to meet in regular session at Unity House starting September 7, 1965. With Pres. David Dubinsky serving as chairman, the board members will review current conditions, organizational prospects and contract status in the many garment markets and regions in the United States and Canada.

Special emphasis, it is expected, will be put on weighing the current legislative situation in regard to lifting the federal minimum wage, enactment of a uniform federal standard in state unemployment insurance systems and the repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act which has blocked union organizing progress in so-called "right-to-work" states.

Also on the agenda will be a review of the operation of the union's benefit funds, coming political contests and current economic aspects of the garment industry.

The agreement with Dorsey, which employs some 135 workers, was also renewed for a period of 3 years, expiring March 14, 1968. Biggest gain was a 10 percent wage increase over the 3 year period. Other improvements include a reduction of the sickweek from 44 hours to 42 hours with time and a half for overtime, and 2 additional paid holidays, one this year and the other in 1967.

Pursuing a policy of organizing cutters in various shops as a forerunner to full organization, the union recently concluded two contracts for cutters of Marcita Sportswear Ltd. and Heitner Mfg. Co. Ltd., both of Montreal.

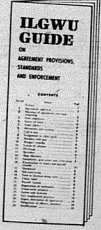
Local 205, representing three cutters at Marcita, signed an agreement with the firm to establish minimum wage scales and to shorten the workweek to 37 1/2 hours with time and a half for overtime. Workers also received a weekly wage increase of \$5. Local 205, also representing five cutters at Heitner, successfully negotiated a contract to establish minimum wage scales and to increase wages by \$5 per week. Workers will also receive legal holidays with pay. Both Marcita and Heitner agreed to employer contributions of 2 percent and 1 percent of the payroll to the health fund and health center fund, respectively.

Meanwhile, the ILGWU has concluded a series of new agreements with five firms covering a total of some 70 employees. These firms have become mem-

bers of the Montreal Dress and Sportswear Manufacturers Guild.

The terms of the agreement are those presently in effect in the Montreal dress and sportswear industries. The firms concerned are Donat Coif of St. Adrien de Ham, Quebec; Artcraft Casuals Co. of Montreal; Jean et Paul Contracteur of St. Laurent, Quebec; Asbestos Sportswear Reg'd. of Asbestos, Quebec; and Junion Charm Inc.

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Free. At local union offices, local meetings, shop chairmen meetings. 12-pages packed with information about standards, enforcement, agreements, 28 sections, short and to the point. Unanimously adopted by the 32nd ILGWU Convention, May, 1965. Get your copy now!

In his keynote address to the 32nd ILGWU Convention last May, Pres. David Dubinsky told of the vicious attempt to besmirch the ILGWU 50 years ago when it was fighting to wipe out the sweatshop. On the word of a gangster, a group of ILGWU members, officers and others was charged with crimes, including murder. Since then, other malicious plots have been concocted to injure the ILGWU "because we are so often ahead of the times and in the vanguard of progressive social action," Pres. Dubinsky said. To mark the 50th anniversary of the trial of Morris Sigman, later ILGWU president, and the others, Justice publishes as a Labor Day special feature—the inspired statement by Morris Hillquit with which he opened the ILGWU defense on September 23, 1915. Counsel, mentor and friend, he used his deep understanding of union structure, history and hopes to win acquittal. This account is adapted from a rare stenographic transcript.

OUR CITY IS THE LARGEST CENTER OF THE CLOAK industry, probably in the world. Over 4,000 men and women find employment in that industry. Up until the general strike of 1910 they were notoriously the most miserable lot of workers which our city ever sheltered.

They were foreigners, mostly new arrivals, to a very large extent Jews with a sprinkling of Italians and other nationalities. They were unfamiliar with the language of the country, with its institutions, with their rights. They were left entirely at the mercy of their employers. In a great many cases they were of their own nationality who had risen from their own ranks and class.

For years and years, the condition of the cloakmakers in this city was a crying shame in our community. They were overworked. They were maltreated. They were herded together in hundreds of rickety lofts, often in tenement houses, in shops without air, without ventilation. And there, day after day, they worked for insufficient wages. Tuberculosis was rife among them. As a result you have a generation of stunted, puny, anemic individuals.

From time to time, they would break out in a spontaneous strike, gain some advantage. But after the start of the season, as soon as the employer had the upper hand again, the old ways would be restored. The workers would sink back into the old conditions of starvation and dependence on charity until, perhaps, a few years later, there would be another outbreak.

So it continued until 1910 when the situation became so intolerable that even this patient, submissive lot of tailors came down from the shops and said, "We cannot stand it any longer." And that strike lasted fully 8 weeks, from the 7th day of July to the 2nd day of September, 1910.

The strikers had the undivided sympathy and support of the public and the press. A great many high-minded citizens intervened, seeking to establish living standards for these workers. Principally through the intervention of such men as Louis Marshall and Louis D. Brandeis, peace was finally established.

This humble union of foreign workers struck a new keynote in the relations between employers and employees, created a new system which is a landmark in the progress of the labor movement and of economic relations between the classes generally.

When that strike of 1910 was called, men and women came out from about 1,800 different establishments in the city—large and small factories and shops, on Fifth Avenue, on the East Side, everywhere.

All they had in common at that time was their suffering which had exceeded the bounds of endurance. They had practically no organization. With a lot as poor and destitute as the cloakmakers were, the great problem that presented itself to the leaders was to organize this strike in such a way as to make sure the industry would be tied up, and to make sure that the men would stay out until such time as their demands would be granted.

In this, the unorganized, mass succeeded in a marvelous way. Day after day, week after week, they had to keep constantly before them the great and important cause for which they fought. That was the business of the Speakers' Committee.

But in strikes, both sides begin to realize more and more that the public is vitally interested in the question. They established a Press Committee so as to keep the public posted. And then, in a strike of this kind, where picketing was done on the street, where trouble often occurred between employers and their workers and where pickets were often apt to be arrested, they had to be instructed as to their rights. The Law Committee was organized to see to it that the law was complied with.

BUT THE MOST IMPORTANT WORK, PERHAPS, WAS that of the Picket Committee. We may estimate that about 90 percent of all of the workers employed in the trade responded to the strike call. Ten percent failed to respond. In addition, in the course of this strike the employers sought to enlist other workers in their employment. We may well figure about 8,000 men and women had at some time or other remained working.

Now here was the crux of the entire situation: If these persons continued to work, if they increased in numbers, it might easily enable the manufacturers to tide over the season or it might cause a stampede among the strikers to return to work. In order to tie up the industry and win the strike, it was necessary for the union to win over the adherence of these men. They could not win the strike otherwise. They had to be converted.



There might also be professional strikebreakers brought in. There might be other men, unaware that a strike was going on and intending to take the positions offered by the employers. The pickets had to be there to approach the would-be strikebreaker and dissuade him, if possible.

Bear in mind that work in the shops was often going on day and night. Picketing had to be done day and night. They did it in shifts of about four hours each, and so you can easily figure that from 20,000 to 30,000 pickets were in front of the shops in the course of a day and night. When we speak of pickets, we practically mean in this case, the strikers as a mass.

The General Picket Committee was the centralized representative of the picketing work done in this strike. Its objects were to inform pickets as to their rights; to see that all picketing was going on and going on in a proper and orderly manner.

Sol Metz was the first man to be elected as chairman of the Picket Committee. In about 10 days, he organized the picketing work. First, he hired headquarters at 8 Union Square and then he transferred them to 210 East 5th Street. He selected the defendant Abraham Weidiger as one of his assistants. He had other assistants. Weidiger was in charge of a branch office at 85 East 4th Street.

In the beginning of the strike one thing was not foreseen by the strikers when they organized the various picket committees. That was the possibility of some of the manufacturers removing their plants out of town and operating them there. You understand when the strike was called, the workers did not expect it to last eight weeks. They could not foresee all emergencies. When the first cases of this kind came up, in the third or fourth week of the strike, there was no special committee organized for that purpose and any one of the strike leaders whose attention happened to be called to it took charge of the matter.

IT WAS IN THIS WAY THAT THE MANUFACTURER.

(Continued on Page 6)

In the month of May, 1915, the Grand Jury of New York County handed down 14 separate indictments against 24 organized workers charging them with a series of grave offenses ranging from attempted extortion to murder in the first degree. Included among the defendants were Morris Sigman, the General Secretary-Treasurer of the ILGWU and several of the most prominent and active officers and members of the cloakmakers' union and other locals.

This action on the part of the Grand Jury was as sensational as it was drastic and presented several unusual features. The crimes charged against the defendants were alleged to have been committed in connection with strikes and other labor struggles which occurred a long time before the finding of the indictment, in the case of the murder charge, in 1910.

The evidence in support of the charges was furnished exclusively by a notorious scab agency operating under the guise of a labor union. It was so clumsily manufactured that only a biased public prosecutor could accept it as a basis of a criminal prosecution. The defendants were not given a preliminary hearing and were long left in ignorance of the exact charges against them.

The prosecution was aided by mysterious elements and was evidently inspired and largely engineered by persons who had a direct interest in exhausting the powerful organization of the workers in the women's garment industry through protracted and costly litigation and in impairing its influence and effectiveness by branding it as a criminal combination.

The charge of murder involved eight defendants who were confined to jail for four months before they were admitted to bail. The aggregate amount of bail furnished by the union for its members was in the vicinity of \$150,000. The indictment for murder in the first degree was tried in the Supreme Court of New York before Justice Tompkins and a special jury selected from a list of wealthy businessmen.

It began on September 23, 1915 and was concluded on October 8. Of the defendants originally involved, one, Louis Holzer, was discharged by the judge before trial on the ground that there was no evidence against him before the Grand Jury. Two other defendants, Julius Woodf and Solomon Metz, were acquitted at the close of the case on motion of the district attorney. The case against Morris Sigman, general secretary-treasurer of the ILGWU, and four other defendants went to the jury which brought in a verdict of "not guilty" after a deliberation of less than two hours.

Although the indictment was nominally one of murder against certain individuals, the trial assumed the character of a searching investigation into the aims and methods of the ILGWU, its work, struggle and achievements. The verdict of the jury was not only a vindication of the individual defendants but also of the ILGWU and of the organized labor movement as a whole.

—Benjamin Schlesinger, President, ILGWU at time of the trial.

Meadow, conceived of the notion of transferring his plant to Hunter, New York. He rented a building with machinery and appliances in it. Then he commissioned his designer, Beller, to secure strikebreakers.

Beller did the work himself and partly through another person. As far as he was concerned, he hired four men that we know of now. Goodman was the name of one, and Feuerwerker and Liebowitz, and a few days later, Jaffe. As to the other men, he delegated one Goldberg, who had been a contractor for Meadow, to secure them with express instructions, mind you, to try to induce strikers to abandon the strike, to betray their comrades and go out with him and work as strikebreakers in Hunter. Why? Just strikers? For the simple reason that he needed experienced clockmakers and they were on strike and the only place to get them was at strike headquarters.

Goldberg was a contractor, but his sympathies happened to be with the strikers. And so Goldberg gets in touch with Abraham Mitchell, the chairman of the Hall Committee and says, "Mr. Mitchell, here is the situation. I have been asked by a certain firm to secure some strikers to go out to the country scabbing, and I am here to tell you that what do you suggest?"

And Mitchell thinking himself of his own prior similar ex-

NOT GUILTY!

perience in two cases says, "We will give him loyal union men, and they will go there for the purpose of inducing the strikebreakers to join the real strikers, and at the proper time to quit the shop." That was the plan which Mitchell and Goldberg devised. And in accordance with the plan a number of men were selected at random, practically, from the headquarters of the union. The defendant Singer was one of the men so selected. And they went up to Hunter.

They went up for the purpose of seeing whether or not that shop in Hunter was a serious menace to the union—at any rate to report to the union the conditions they found. And so they came there. And they met these four men. There were about ten persons together—six furnished by the union and four what may be called "bona fide" genuine scabs.

And I want to say to you that as far as these four men were concerned, they were absolutely on a par. Goodman was a neighbor of Beller; he was hired by Beller on exactly the same condition as Feuerwerker and the others. Jaffe was a close relative of the employer Meadow. And so there were four of them against six men which the union had sent.

—AND WHEN THEY ARRIVED IN HUNTER THE FOUR did not know that the six men were any different from them. They were all treated alike. They were brought to a little shack which I believe one of the witnesses has euphemistically called a cottage. They were put together, some in a little garret room and the remaining ones below.

There was no distinction. They walked together, they ate together, they slept together; they came to know each other well. Then, even before the actual work started, on Friday of that week as testified to by Feuerwerker, these men had become so intimate with each other, that Singer had no hesitancy in revealing his true object, in telling the scabs: "We are here as representatives of the union and we are here to ask you to come back with us and not to work against the strikers."

That was before a slitch of work was done in that place. And not a living soul breathed a word about it to their employer. They were in absolute accord with the other men. They approved of their mission. They continued being good companions together. They worked together for a couple of days.

When the committee from the union arrived in front of the shop on a signal given by one of the men, presumably Singer, the landlord, son, Meyer Fast, greeted them with a most brutal assault and threatened to kill them. And when Edward Fast, with a number of laborers came armed with clubs and attacked these men before they had a chance to say "boo," the determination of the union men and non-union men to quit the place became irrevocable.

Thus, we have these men, strikebreakers and union men together. It was on a Saturday when this episode occurred. They started for New York on the next day. And the prosecution has indulged in many phrases and implications to make out a case of coercion. There is some intimation even of a threat having been made.

Bear in mind that from the moment they determined to go back to New York and for more than twenty-four hours these men were together every hour, and the four non-union men were also there. And then finally, about three o'clock on Sunday, they came to the depot to go to New York. This man Fast who is not averse to a little intimidation, at that moment appeared on the scene in company with the sheriff or a constable and walked over to each of these men and examined them closely—all strikebreakers, genuine and non-genuine.

If any of these men had been under the slightest restraint—even morally, that was his chance to bid goodbye to the others and turn back. But no, they bought railroad tickets. They travelled together in good spirits and they played cards on the way as good friends. And why not? They had done exactly what they wanted. They had come here to convert these men. They brought them back to the union as friends and fellow strikers.

As gentlemen, we have come to the point where these men, including the deceased Liebowitz, the witness Feuerwerker, the witness Jaffe, the defendant Singer, and the other men who had been en-



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played in Hunter, arrived in New York. It was about eight or nine o'clock in the evening. 42nd Street is a crowded thoroughfare. And there, if they had felt like going home there was no power on earth to restrain them. But no. They had come for the purpose of going to the headquarters of the union at 85 East 4th Street. And there they went.

AND WE NOW COME TO THE FATEFUL EVENTS OF THE 31st of July, 1910. At 85 East 4th Street, they came to the basement. Ordinarily Sigman, who was the chairman of the committee, had a little office in the basement. The strikers as a rule congregated on the first or the stoop floor. But that night, the first floor in its entirety and the room in the basement were occupied by a wedding from about six o'clock in the afternoon until about midnight. We will have the groom here to confirm it. No business could be transacted in that office that night.

Sigman's special function in connection with the committee was to see to it that picketing at large should go on properly. Other duties were clerical duties—new pickets to be engaged and so forth. They were left to his assistants. A short time after his appointment he selected the defendant Ashpis as one of his assistants.

Sigman came back to the hall at about ten o'clock in the evening and was told that a few strikebreakers had come from the country. Now, mind you, gentlemen, in the course of the strike, about 5,000 to 6,000 strikebreakers joined the ranks of the strikers, became strikers, and at one time or another were brought before the Picket Committee. There were days when hundreds of them would come, singly and in groups.

It was the business of the Picket Committee to see them, to talk to them and to attach them to the body of the strikers. On that particular night these strikebreakers came into the hall in the same way as hundreds had come before them.

They did not attract anybody's attention. And Sigman had more important business to do. He said: "Well, show them upstairs. They will be attended to by Wediger or his assistants." And so they are taken upstairs. And Sigman remains downstairs transacting business.

These men had been waiting in the basement for some time to be shown to the Picket Committee and had been absolutely unmolested. When they were shown up to the second floor, one of Sigman's assistants took the chair to ask them a few questions as to their whereabouts, the reasons why they had come back to the union, their intrigues and so forth.

Then, as was quite customary, he called on the men to speak up. One of them mentioned the fact that this committee coming from New York, absolutely peaceable and unarmed had been brutally clubbed. When the others heard that story there was a strong expression of indignation.

Sigman was informed about a disorder in the hall. If there was any man who would realize how important it was to have order, it was Sigman. He knew that at that time there was a disturbance and he had to quell it. And here is where the prosecution lays the beginning of its charge against him. Here is where Sigman comes to the consummation of his alleged conspiracy to take the life of Liebowitz.

Bear in mind, first, that Sigman, at that time did not know that these men had come from Hunter; that he did not have the slightest notion that there had been a committee to go to Meadow's. The union men had not been sent by him but by Abraham Mitchell, the chairman of the Hall Committee.

The first that Sigman ever knew about the strikebreakers was when he was told that they had come from the country. He did not know a single one of the men in the party by name or by reputation. Sigman did not know Liebowitz. He had no animosity against him, no feeling of any kind. And the same applies to Feuerwerker and to Jaffe and to Goodman. All he knew was that these few men, strike-

breakers, had come from the country. All that was with that there was a little disorder in the hall to restore order.

SO SIGMAN TAKES THE GAVEL FROM the meeting to order, and, according to the administration secures order. They all sit down and Sigman paces away. He asks the usual questions, makes his usual remarks. He has other engagements, but stands out in his memory quite distinctly—he attended to.

Of course, he had known at that time what was before him today on account of this little insignificant affair to him, he would have considered it this was an unimportant matter, and he transacted his committee on another floor. They kept him quarters of an hour or so. And when he was passing by the second floor again he saw these said to them "Good night!" and went home.

Jaffe goes away about eleven o'clock. The door goes later, about half past eleven. He comes Singer and says: "Will you show me the car Brownville?" And Singer says, "Of course," and his street car and puts him into it. There is no why if Liebowitz had asked, the defendant Singer, would not have done the same for him. Any more animosity against Liebowitz than in Goodman. And Feuerwerker said that he time.

And so then Feuerwerker and Liebowitz re-ent, and remember, Feuerwerker testifies that the time—he had left before. Then they go to a fight ensues, in the course of which both Feuerwerker are attacked.

Whether Liebowitz was a few steps behind testified to by Feuerwerker, or whether he was material. The police officer testified that it was in which both were injured.

Feuerwerker was hit in the eye. He was his assailant. Somebody jumped on him and on the somebody that jumped on him they each other. How was Liebowitz struck? Nobody a fractured skull. He might have been struck away as Feuerwerker. We don't know.

All we know is that this was the only general strike. And there was not a class of New York who felt more strongly in this grievance by the occurrence than the striking act which, in a measure, might have been in favor from them. It was the only incident this exceptionally orderly movement of these

WHO COULD HAVE COMMITTED

Gentlemen, it was midnight of July 31st—about 11 o'clock, in the neighborhood of 2nd Avenue, in front of soda water stands. They stood in particular time there was a larger crowd than

The next morning one man was arrested. Tombs Police Court. He was arrested for a



Photo from New York World taken during trial shows (top) left to right: Sol Metz, Morris Sigman, Isidore Ashpis, Julius Woolf, Isidore Max Singer, Morris Stupnickier, Abraham Weidiger.

in the country. All that he and he was concerned with was a little disorder in the hall, and he tried to

THE GAVEL FROM ASHPIES, CALLS

According to the admission of Feuerwerker, the strike was down and Sigman proceeds in the trial. Feuerwerker makes his small little speech. Order of engagements, but particularly one which he says quite distinctly—he had a committee to

known at that time what he would have to do in this little insignificant incident as it then could have considered it more seriously. But in that matter, and he transacted the business with the floor. They left him there about three—

And when he walked down to go home, he thought again he saw these men there and he was right and went home. About eleven o'clock. The other man, Goodman, was past eleven. He comes to this "conspirator" and you show me the car that will take me to the car. "Of course," and brings him down to him into it. There is no reason in the world, the defendant Singer, or any of the other men alone the same for him. They could not have against Liebowitz that they had against that Feuerwerker said that he was not afraid at any

Feuerwerker and Liebowitz remained there until the Feuerwerker testifies that Sigman had gone at

before. Then they go out on the street, and the use of which both Feuerwerker and Liebowitz

was a few steps behind Feuerwerker, he was a worker, or whether he was close to him, is not clear. Feuer testified that it was one fight, one meeting, one fight.

hit in the eye. He does not know much about the man who was jumped on him and somebody else jumped on him. They fought all around with Liebowitz struck? Nobody knows. He did not know. He might have been struck in the stomach of the same way.

We don't know.

that this was the only regrettable incident of there was not a class of people of the City were more strongly in this case, who were more concerned than the striking cloakmakers. It was the measure, might have tended to deflect public attention to the only incident that in any way marked any movement of these men.

HAVE COMMITTED THAT ASSAULT?

midnight of July 31st—a clear warm night. In the neighborhood of 2nd Avenue and the Bowery the greatest part of the City. It was a place, ten feet and sidewalk. Any summer night, even today, these blocks and you will find hundreds there. The men do not sleep at that time—they stand on the street, on the street, in front of push carts, stands. They stand in groups. Again, at that time was a larger crowd than usual.

one man was arrested and discharged in the

Now, the District Attorney says he has not been able to locate him.

After that a coroner's inquest was held, and a jury returned a verdict that the deceased came to his death from a fractured skull caused in a manner to them unknown. Then the District Attorney made an investigation. The Police Department made an investigation. Absolutely no result—no information. And the unfortunate accident is forgotten, and is forgotten for years—almost four years.

Then all at once something happens, and for that reason these seven men are now before you charged with the murder of Liebowitz. I have told you that the strike of 1910 had established perfectly harmonious relations between manufacturers and employees. When I said that I had reference to what we call the legitimate employees—meaning by that, bona fide manufacturers.

But there was in the trade a certain other type of manufacturer or contractors popularly known as "sweatshop keepers," a sort of middlemen between the manufacturers and the workmen, who make their profits solely by their ability to extract more labor for less pay from the workers, than the decent manufacturer does. They are a menace to the industry.

In 1913 there were a number of them, employing altogether 5,000 or 6,000 people. And in that year, in response to a general demand from the workers and the legitimate manufacturers themselves, the union determined to abolish that remnant of the sweatshops. The men employed by these particular employers went on strike.

Now that strike was no longer for wages and work hours. The strike was to abolish the system. And the sweatshop employers menaced in that strike faced annihilation. They were a menace and disgrace to the community. But for themselves it was their living, their existence; and consequently they were exceedingly stubborn. For the first time in the history of the industry, hired gangsters and thugs were systematically employed by the employers.

There was not a thing which they did not try in this fight for their industrial survival. One of the most significant incidents in this strike was the appearance on the scene of the man whose name you have heard mentioned here—Max Sulkes.

PRIOR TO 1913, MAX SULKES WAS ONE OF THE mysterious existences on the East Side about whom the town is full of rumors. In 1913 he turned up as a private detective, having organized the Empire Detective Agency and filed a certificate to the effect that he, Max Sulkes, was the owner and proprietor of that private detective agency.

He made a specialty, as stated on his cards and on his letter-heads, of the adjustment of labor disputes. Now, Max Sulkes was not an adjuster in the sense of an arbitrator. Max Sulkes adjusted labor disputes by furnishing to the employers strongarm men and strikebreakers.

And here is the most singular thing of all. In order to do his work more effectively he devised the extraordinary idea—he, the detective, he, the professional strikebreaker, he, who had never been a cloakmaker in his life, had probably never worked in his life, as a matter of fact—goes to work and organizes a cloakmakers' union. Why? Because it is so much easier to furnish strikebreakers and strongarm men under the guise of a union.

It is an organization of a private detective making strikebreaking a special business and operating under the guise of the labor union in order to make it easier for himself to fool the public, and secondly, to assure a certain attitude of legitimate business, and to induce cloakmakers to go scabbing for him. So then Max Sulkes organizes a union which he calls the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union of the World—taking our full name without a change only adding "of the World."

As soon as that organization comes into life and as soon as they have the first meeting in an effort to destroy the legitimate union in connection with that strike against the sweating system, Sulkes and his pals throw out hints: "We will dig up that case of 1910, of Liebowitz, and we will fix it." And they do it. They select the man

most dangerous to them, starting with Morris Sigman who had become a sort of strength in the union.

Then comes the consummation of this conspiracy. Isaac Levine, the president of the "union"—the Sulkes union—the private detective union, and Poller, the treasurer of that "union," after a lapse of four years—mean four years before the first indictment—all of a sudden remember that they, although not knowing each other at the time, were present and saw this defendant, Sigman, strike Liebowitz with a lead pipe over his head and they tell you the gruesome details of this murder, committed, according to them, in full view of the public.

GENTLEMEN, CONSIDER THE CONNECTION. OF ALL the men and women who were present there at the time, and there was a large crowd, who comes before you with the story of the direct killing? Two men and two men only, both of them were a lapse of fully five years—both of them telling the same story in every detail.

The defendant Sigman does not deny having been on the premises on the 31st of July. He denies absolutely having had the slightest knowledge of the identity of these men, the slightest acquaintance with them, the slightest participation in any assault upon any of them.

The defendant Ashpis had nothing more to do with it. He did not expect anything unusual. He went home. He did not witness any part of the assault.

The defendant Weidiger was there. He was busy sending out night pickets.

The defendant Metz had been chairman of the Picket Committee until about the second week of the strike. When the first 200 or 300 shops had settled, a special department was established known as the Committee on Adjustment of Disputes and Metz was asked to be the care of it. That kept him busy day and part of the night. He had absolutely no connection with the Picket Committee.

Still more so, the defendant, Woolf. He was made chairman of the Relief Committee. Benefits were paid from the second or third week. From 5,000 to 10,000 persons took the money. Some got \$3, some \$5—less to a single man, more to a married man. Woolf was probably the busiest man in the strike committee. He had no concern with the Picket Committee. He was not at the East 4th St. office on July 31.

Now comes the defendant against whom the prosecution has been gaining particularly—Moses Stupnickier or Moishe the Sharker as he has been called by three of the prosecution's witnesses. I presume, gentlemen, from the dark hints and descriptions you expect to see before you, when he is called to the stand, a sort of strong-arm giant.

Yes, you are doomed to disappointment. Stupnickier is a humble and rather obscure worker, not endowed with great mental gifts, big, strapping, but of a disposition so child-like and quiet that he was known among his associates all these years as a sort of overgrown baby. He was the object of goodnatured jokes. He would not hurt a fly. He had no office during the strike, was not on strike July 31. His presence among the defendants would be a joke if it were not so sad. He has been joined in the case for stage effect and nothing else.

Finally, there is the defendant, Singer—just a striker in the ranks. He happened to go to see Mitchell—not Sigman—when it was suggested to him that he go up to Hunter in the guise of a scab and try to do inside picketing and come back with the men. He did so. He came back with the men. He took one of the men home. He did not know anything about the assault on Liebowitz.

These, then, are the defendants before you in this trial for the murder of Liebowitz—murder in the first degree. We hope to establish the facts I have outlined to you by testimony which will leave no doubt in your minds. And we will not ask for leniency or mercy at your hands. We know perfectly well, gentlemen, that we can rely on your fairness and intelligence. All we ask for is your attention during the presentation of facts on our side.

NEW YORK, Oct. 9, 1915—The five officers and members of the ILGWU who have been on trial for two weeks on the charge of murder were acquitted last night. The verdict, "not guilty," from the foreman of the jury brought a cheer from the friends and relatives of the defendants. Mrs. Sigman screamed and fainted. The victorious labor leaders are: Morris Sigman, secretary-treasurer of the ILGWU; Isidore Ashpis, president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Abraham Weidiger, member of Cloak Operators' Union; and Max D. Singer, member of Cloak Operators' Union.

The verdict was announced at 8:30 o'clock after less than two hours' deliberation. The extra detail of police and court guards could not prevent a demonstration. Solomon Metz and Julius Woolf, who had been defendants until their acquittal on Thursday, were the first to reach their comrades. They embraced and kissed each other, tears of joy welling in their eyes.

A great throng of men and women outside the court room heard the welcome news. All the spectators poured out into Center St. where cheers brought a detail of police who tried to drive the celebrators away. All remained until the five happy cloakmakers and their wives were hurried into automobiles with their families and taken to their homes.

Morris Sigman, against whom the conspiracy was chiefly directed by the Sulkes Agency, was radiant with joy, not so much because he was free from the charge of murder, but because he was freed from the stigma of the murder charge.

"I am happy not so much because of my own victory but because it is a victory for organized labor, which was the real defendant in this case," said Sigman. "The charge of murder was brought against me and my brothers because we were of

organized labor. The blow at the Cloakmakers' Union, which was planned to destroy the great organization by vilifying the leaders, failed because the conspiracy of the Sulkes Agency was too apparent."

Morris Hilewitz, counsel of the ILGWU, delivered a scathing criticism of the District Attorney for aiding the frame-up by the Sulkes sack.

Former District Attorney William M. C. Olcott opened yesterday's session at 10 o'clock with the summing up of the defense. After reviewing the triangle of the cloakmakers to better their condition, he said:

"We must expect that strong-arm methods are not those of these people. The District Attorney has admitted that the tales of the participation of Dopey Benny and his strong-arm men were false."

"The blow that caused Herman Liebowitz to cry out 'O!' not only brought tears to the eyes of his widow, but it caused these defendants to groan with anguish. Violence of any sort was the one thing they had to fear, for they knew they would lose the confidence of the public if strong-arm methods were used. All during the strike the leaders succeeded in restraining the most emotional lot of men in this city."

"Back of all this perjured testimony is Sulkes, the private detective who sought leaders and contributions from the men who wanted to continue sweatshop labor. Sulkes chose Levine as the most promising prisoner to charge organized labor as a murder, and strike down the first indictment—all of a sudden remember that they, although not knowing each other at the time, were present and saw this defendant, Sigman, strike Liebowitz with a lead pipe over his head and they tell you the gruesome details of this murder, committed, according to them, in full view of the public."

—FROM THE CALL

Labor's Task: Enroll, Vote to Protect Gains

By GEORGE MEANY

Federal Labor Day speaker by the president of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations.

THIS IS A MEMORABLE LABOR DAY, not only for the trade union movement and its members, but for the nation. The will of the people, so strongly expressed last November, has been translated with unparalleled speed and scope into legislative action.

And what a legislative record it is! Even now, with fruitful days still to come, the 89th Congress has written an indelible chapter in American history and has opened the way to a far better life for the generations now alive and those yet to be born.

The 89th Congress has reflected the spirit of President Johnson's campaign in 1944—the first campaign in history in which an incumbent President, running at a time of unsurpassed prosperity, bowed his appeal upon the needs of the unprosperous minority.

The AFL-CIO gave its full support to that campaign and that appeal. The results have more than justified our confidence, and the confidence expressed by the American people as a whole, in voting for that program and in electing a President and a Congress capable of carrying it forward to success.

LET US NOW TURN TO THE RECORD. Less than a year ago, President Johnson suggested that the previous Congress, the 88th, might be remembered as the "education Congress" because of its contributions in that field. The 89th Congress has an even greater claim to the title. After long years of futile effort, it enacted the first program of general federal aid to primary and secondary schools in this country's 177-year history. But this was not the only education measure adopted. In literally every aspect of schooling—pre-kindergarten to college, vocational and professional, disadvantaged adult and aspiring post-graduate—existing programs were strengthened and new ones started.

It was the 89th Congress which took our modest proposal for hospital and

nursing home insurance under social security—and impressed by the needs of the elderly—added to it a plan for covering other medical expenses as well. This great new breakthrough, coupled with the higher retirement benefits and other improvements, brings real meaning to the concept of old-age security.

Then there is housing, and all the related problems of urban development, mass transportation and so on. This Congress hasn't solved any of them, much less all of them; no final and lasting solutions are possible in an ever-changing society. But this Congress has taken a hard, new look at the urban-suburban situation, and has put in motion a series of projects based on promising new ideas.

I HAVE DEFERRED MENTIONING

civil rights until now, not because it is less important—quite the contrary—but rather because the great civil rights breakthrough is properly associated with the previous Congress. But on this front, too, the 89th Congress has been prompt to move. The voting rights bill should at last insure the rights of every American to full citizenship. The equal employment opportunities section of the 1964 Act is certain to be strengthened. And there is little doubt that if still more legislation proves to be needed, this Congress will enact it.

There is much more in the record of achievements.

Badly-needed improvements in the wage-hour law, the most powerful weapon in the war on poverty, are moving through the legislative process. So is a

long-overdue modernization of the unemployment insurance system. All these social advances, and the investment—the investment in America—that accompanies them have had exactly the kind of effect which we in the AFL-CIO have always predicted. They have not only contributed to a better society; they have created jobs as well.

Unemployment, particularly among young people and among Negroes, is still a problem to be fought. But this trend has been steadily downward. As all the many programs authorized by this Congress go into full operation, we can expect a continued improvement. And we can also expect continued determination by the administration and Congress to achieve the ultimate goal of jobs at good wages for all.

But there is no automatic assurance that future Congresses will be in the same petter. On the contrary, the writers are already taking it for granted that many Congressional liberals, especially new members, will lose their seats to conservatives and reactionaries in 1956. This they write, because the "normal" result in non-Presidential years. The nation cannot afford that kind of "normalcy." Therefore our political activity must be a continuing function, year after year.

Our opponents have grasped this basic fact. Despite their overwhelming repudiation by the people last November, the reactionaries and the right-wing extremists are already starting their campaign for 1964. New organizations have sprung up; new money is being raised; new recruits are being sought. We cannot afford to be complacent. We have our conviction that most Americans support the cause of social and economic progress. We must do what we can to emphasize, among our friends and in our country, the immense work that this Congress has done and is doing—its value to every American and to America itself. And we must keep everlastingly busy at the basic essentials—

education, the maintenance of the Interstate Highway with our annual dollars, and carrying on the endless task of seeing to it that every eligible person is registered to vote.



U.S. Action Seen Key to Modernizing Jobless Pay Program

Main portions of statement submitted by General Secretary-Treasurer Louis Shulberg to the House Ways and Means Committee on August 18, supporting bill H.R. 8282 which updates unemployment insurance system by providing new federal standards and other improvements.

THE ILGWU BELIEVES THAT THE ADOPTION of H.R. 8282 would be a major step forward in the nation's effort to deal with the effect of unemployment. Although unemployment has been our major domestic problem for some time, there has been no substantial improvement in the unemployment compensation system in 30 years. Therefore, federal legislation is urgently needed.

THE DEFICIENCIES OF UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION are many. Millions of employees are not covered by the system. In most states the weekly payments are considerably below levels consistent with the original guiding principle that benefits would replace one-half of wages lost through joblessness. This is usually because maximum benefit levels have substantially failed to keep pace with changes in overall wage levels. Duration of benefits is often too short, and there is generally no satisfactory provision for long-term unemployment. The net result is that of every five dollars in wages lost by those out of work only one is replaced by unemployment insurance. This means that our jobless pay programs are failing in their essential tasks of reducing human hardship and of bolstering our economy.

The inadequacies of our unemployment insurance system are in part due to unsound financing practices in many states which have weakened their reserve funds. The major reason for this situation is that the taxable payroll in most states remains limited to the first \$3,000 of each employee's earnings, a figure that has not been changed in over a quarter of a century.

THE STATES THEMSELVES HAVE BEEN UNABLE or unwilling to take appropriate action to remedy these problems. Some of them have perpetuated inadequate low-cost unemployment compensation programs to gain an unfair competitive advantage over states which maintain better standards, in order to attract industry. But such an advantage is achieved not only at the expense of other states, but also at the expense of the basic needs of the unemployed. The existing crazy-quilt patchwork of state unemployment insurance programs creates intolerable hardship and undermines our economy.

One of the more praiseworthy features of H.R. 8282 is its proposal to increase the taxable wage base. Obviously, the improvements called for by the bill will require additional revenues by both the federal and state funds. It is much sounder to attain these increased revenues by raising the taxable wage base than by raising tax rates on a low tax base.

WHEN THE SOCIAL SECURITY ACT WAS FIRST enacted, the tax for unemployment insurance purposes was set on total covered payrolls. However, a \$3,000 ceiling was adopted to finance old age and survivors' insurance. Since the \$3,000 ceiling at that time covered the entire annual earnings of almost all employees at that time, in the interest of consistency the same base was soon thereafter adopted for unemployment insurance as well. With advances in wage levels, however, this ceiling has become increasingly obsolete. In New York State, for example, only 52 percent of insured payrolls were subject to the unemployment insurance tax in 1964, compared to 92 percent in 1936.

Congress has raised the taxable wage base for old age and survivors' insurance several times; it is now \$4,800 and next year will go up to \$6,600. But the tax base for the federal unemployment insurance tax remains at \$3,000, as it does under most state unemployment com-

pensation laws. It is small wonder that many state funds find it difficult to finance current benefit standards, let alone increase benefits to the levels so urgently needed. A committee on the financing of the Interstate Conference of Employment Security Agencies stated in 1959 that "efforts to retain the \$3,000 tax base over the long run could lead to farcical results with a small fraction of the payroll being taxed at astronomical rates to provide the necessary revenue to finance the unemployment insurance program." This is precisely what has been happening, and is a major cause for the poor condition of many state unemployment insurance programs.

LOGICALLY, THE UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE tax should be applied to total payrolls. In the interest of uniformity and simplicity, however, Congress may wish to raise the ceiling to the level now provided under OASDI for next year—\$6,600—which would cover the bulk of insured payrolls. Certainly, the tax base for unemployment compensation should not be lower than for other social security programs. If a \$6,600 tax base would increase revenues beyond what is needed to finance the higher benefits proposed by this bill, then it would become possible to lower the tax rates and thus to reduce the tax inequities which now prevail.

Among amendments to H.R. 8282, one worthy praise to the effect that a state may not reduce or reduce benefits because the claimant files a claim or resides outside the state. However, there should also be a requirement for the mandatory combining of base period employment in more than one state for the purposes of qualifying for benefits. It is a serious defect of the federal-state unemployment insurance system that employees who work in more than one state may not be able to qualify for benefits in any state.



Blowen Bros., N.Y.C.

This Label ad will appear in some 100 newspapers throughout the country on Sept. 2

The Organization Woman—1909

"In the garment trades," reported the *New York Evening Journal* some 55 years ago, "girls have to be at their machines at 7 o'clock in the morning and stay at them until 8 o'clock at night with just half an hour off for lunch."

To end the 12½ hour work day, these "girls" organized into unions, like the one pictured above.

These women, and the countless thousands who came after, *knew* (because they were women) that the bright future of a nation lay in the strength of the family.

Their efforts forged that strength. Shorter hours have given us the leisure time for husband and children, for recreation, for travel, for thought. The shorter work day has brought better health, hope and promise to the American family. It is one of the rea-

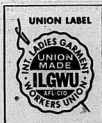
sons we celebrate Labor Day.

Today, we, the 450,000 members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (80% women) are proud of our union and its contribution to our lives and the well-being of our communities. We ask for your help in carrying on our work.

Our signature is the union label sewn into all women's and children's garments.

Look for it when you shop. It's easy to spot the label. It's your guarantee that the clothing you buy is made by skilled craftsmen in a shop reflecting the best American standards and traditions.

(A handsome 64-page, 8½" x 11" soft-cover book, containing many historic photographs similar to the one above, is available from the Union Label Department, ILGWU, 275 Seventh Avenue, N.Y.C., N.Y. 10001. It costs just 50 cents, postpaid.)



Symbol of Decency,
Fair Labor Standards and the
American Way of Life.

Hit Unfair Actions by Kinkel, Order Eastern Region Talks

A non-union knitgoods company has been ordered to negotiate an agreement with the ILGWU, reinstate with back pay two workers fired for union activity and ten others not re-hired after an unfair labor practice strike, and establish a preferential hiring list, reports Vice Pres. Edward Krom er, Eastern Region general manager.

The sweeping remedy was contained in a recommendation of an NLRB trial examiner after investigation of unfair labor practices committed by the firm of John Kinkel & Son, of New Shrewsbury, New Jersey.

Key to the remedy was the trial examiner's decision to order the company to bargain with the union. Eastern Region organizers had signed a majority of workers at the plant during a drive in the summer of 1964. However, the company had attempted to dissipate the majority by using discriminatory practices, and ultimately with a padded payroll list.

A one-year investigation of this list established the appropriate bargaining unit and the true majority status of the union.

In addition, the decision recommended an immediate offer of reinstatement without prejudice to Wilson Lodge and Eugene Savage with back pay

and six from either July 23, 1964 to the date of offer of reinstatement. The company was ordered to establish a preferential hiring list for ten workers who were not offered jobs on September 21, 1964, the date the unfair labor practice strike was concluded, again with back pay computed from that date to the day of reinstatement offer.

Case History

The case against Kinkel had its origin in an organization campaign begun in spring of 1964 by General Organizer Walter De Young. Eastern Region staffers soon had signed a majority of the workers and the company's surveillance tactics soon uncovered the key pro-union workers, leading to the discharge of Lodge and Savage.

These firings resulted in an unfair labor practice strike that brought a number of workers

out on a picket line which was dissolved when the union formally charged the company with a refusal to bargain.

The union's charges have now been upheld by the trial examiner, who found the ILGWU exclusive representative of all employees in the appropriate bargaining unit at all times since July 28, 1964. The substance of the examiner's recommendations were to be posted in the plant for a period of 60 days, upon approval by the National Labor Relations Board.

Vancouver Strike Looms As Fitwell Nixes Arbitrating

A strike seems imminent following standstill contract negotiations with Fitwell Garments Ltd. and the Vancouver manufacturing firm's refusing to comply with the recommendations of a government conciliation board that attempted to settle the case at the request of Canada Clock-makers' Local 276, reports Vice Pres. Bernard Shane.

After a careful examination of the issues involved, the government board had recently proposed an hourly boost of 5 cents retroactive to January 1 with an additional 2 percent across-the-board wage increase effective January 1, 1967; two additional paid holidays, Victoria Day and Thanksgiving, beginning January 1, 1966, and two more, Remembrance Day and Boxing Day, in 1967; and additional morning rest periods.

The Fitwell management in re-

jecting the board's recommendations has also refused to meet with the union and conclude a new contract to replace the original agreement which expired eight months ago.

Although the membership of Local 276 has voted for strike action once all other means of producing a fair contract renewal have been exhausted, they are still pinning their hopes for the present on a peaceful settlement and are relying on further government intervention at their behest to persuade the firm to come to the bargaining table and negotiate in good faith.

Slap West Coast Jer Marai; Strikes Achieve Gains in Area

The National Labor Relations Board has sustained unfair labor practice charges Dress and Sportswear Joint Board in its campaign to organize the 130 workers of reports Vice Pres. Samuel Oton, Pacific Coast director.

The NLRB decision found Jer Marai guilty of threatening its workers with loss of their jobs and existing benefits if they attempted to join the union, and engaging in surveillance in order to determine which employees are supporting the union drive.

Strikes Net Gains

Three strikes in San Francisco and Oakland have resulted in contract gains for Pacific Coast ILGWU that have raised workers' standards at the three firms up to the levels set by the major union employer agreements in their respective industries.

After a 3-week stoppage at the Triumph Curing Center, a 3-year contract with a wage reopening clause was concluded guaranteeing the plant's employees a 35-hour week and a 6 cent mid-term boost in wages. Hourly minimums established by the new agreement range from base of \$1.50 to a high of \$1.95 for pressers and other crafts. Prior to the strike, workers' hourly earnings did not exceed the state minimum of \$1.20. Other gains were achieved in averages, paid holidays, paid vacation, cost of living and fringe benefits.

In Oakland, employees of the Mar Claire children's sportswear firm stayed away from their jobs for three weeks and returned with a brand new 2-year agreement in hand calling for an immediate 6 cent an hour wage hike in addition to across-the-board benefit gains identical to those highlighted in the union's collective agreement with the California Dress and Sportswear Association.

A two week strike was the clincher in convincing United Belt of San Francisco to sign a 2-year pact yielding new benefits

Talk on Industry At Chicago Univ.

An enlightened public laborer's best friend and participating in the program of bringing the public up to date on labor issues is Harold Schwartz, assistant director of the Midwest Region, who will lecture at the Inter-University Center in Chicago on September 27, 1965.

Schwartz's talk on "Wage Legislation and Its Relation to Wage Standards in the Garment Industry" is part of the new program conducted by the Chicago center for both labor and management leadership in the area.

Founded by the University of Chicago, the center is an adult organization that makes use of faculty from all Chicago area universities for its course. This year's lecture by Schwartz will mark the second time he has participated in the center's wage administration course.

Mouru Ellisberg

The entire Chicago cloak industry was saddened by the death of Harold Ellisberg, president of the Chicago Cloak and Suit Manufacturers' Association for nearly 20 years, on August 18 at the age of 73. Speaking on behalf of the Chicago cloakmakers, Vice Pres. Morris Blais, director of the Midwest Region, said, "All through the years his office worked with the union for peace and harmony in the industry." A manufacturer of women's clothes for over fifty years, Ellisberg represented the Chicago cloak industry on the National Board of the Coat and Suit Industry.



'BLITZING' JUDY BOND: Picketing in front of Gerts store as part of consumer appeal program now to buy products of struck firm. Some 200 members took part in picketing Gerts at 4 L.L. stores.

UnityHouseOpen Miami Local Nets \$7,000 Back Pay For Sept. Booking

A limited number of general accommodations for individuals is still available at Unity House for the weekend of September 10, Manager Saul Gold announces. He urges that reservations be made at once. The New York office of Unity House is at 275 Seventh Ave.

The September 10 weekend has also been taken by the New York Cloak Joint Board for a staff seminar. During the same weekend there will be a meeting of the joint council of the Cloak Out-of-Town Dept.

New immigrants who are unable to speak English and do not know their legal rights under the Fair Labor Standards Act are easy prey for unscrupulous employers without a strong union to stand guard for them.

Protecting its members who have been emigrating from Cuba, Miami Local 415 recently won a federal order for \$7,000 in back pay due the workers of the Florida Undergarment Company and its subsidiary, Playjacks, reports Robert Gladnick, local manager.

Acting upon information supplied by the local, the U.S. Government Wage and Hour Division directed the renegade company to turn the \$7,000 over to

its offices first in order to insure that it would be distributed to the workers who had been short-changed.

On the heels of this victory, the union is now planning further cooperative efforts with the government to safeguard the interests of its Cuban membership.

'22 Dressmakers Slate Sept. 22 Member Meet

New York Dressmakers' Local 22 will hold a membership meeting on Wednesday, September 22, 1965, right after work, in the Terrace Ballroom of the Statler Hilton Hotel, 7th Avenue and 33rd Street, Manhattan, reports Vice Pres. Israel Breslow, manager.

JUSTICE

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

EDITORIAL PAGE

A LEAK IN WAGES

THE NATION'S PAY ENVELOPES make up the vast pipeline through which the reward for their labor flows back to the workers. The fight against poverty really began when workers first banded together in order to enlarge the flow of wages by strengthening their own bargaining power.

In our own time the conditions of work and wages are set not only at the bargaining table but also in the legislative arena. In this respect, organized labor today has three primary legislative targets.

One is the repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. This would lift state restraints on unions and restore full effectiveness to their organizing and bargaining in the 19 so-called "right-to-work" states where the beneficial effects of unionization are most urgently needed by workers.

Another is lifting and spreading the federal minimum wage. Along with other improvements in the Fair Labor Standards Act, this would bring earnings closer into line with workers' current needs and would also bring additional millions of workers under the protection of the law for the first time.

Finally, organized labor is seeking the enactment of a federal standard for state unemployment insurance systems. Many of these still pay out-of-date benefits, for too-short periods, which were inadequate almost from the start and which condemn millions of workers, through no fault of their own, to life on the edge of poverty.

THE BEST LEGISLATIVE EFFORTS of unions, however, are ineffective where legal safeguards are not fully enforced. In his appearance last July 14 before a subcommittee of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare of the U.S. Senate, Pres. David Dubinsky pointed out a major leak in the wage pipeline due to inadequate enforcement of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

This shortcoming arises from several causes. Workers who have not been paid the full minimum wage or the full overtime rate may either file a complaint with the Department of Labor in the hope that the department will collect or must sue the boss themselves for restitution of their underpaid wages. The department may inspect, may determine the amount of underpayment and ask for restitution. However, in a number of cases, violating employers, while admitting their underpayments, fail to pay up. Unfortunately, suits for restitution are only infrequently undertaken.

The worker who is done wrong generally is ignorant of the provisions of the law and fearful of his boss' wrath. If he builds up enough courage to act, he must do so within two years of the wage law violation. And he must then contend with the arrogance of the violator. The record shows that even where, on worker's complaint, the Labor Department has found violations and asked for restitution, the violators refuse. In the three years ending June 30, 1964 such refusals came to 59 percent of the amount found to be underpaid.

THE ENFORCEMENT FEATURES of the Fair Labor Standards Act need to be overhauled and strengthened, Pres. Dubinsky told the committee. More time must be allowed to discover violations and to initiate actions for restitution. The Secretary of Labor must be given the right in all cases to act as the collector of underpayments and his findings must be made binding on the courts.

But even these changes will be insufficient unless more money is provided

Uniting Against Disease

By Dr. Luther L. Terry

ALL NATIONS ARE COMMITTED to achieving a higher standard of living for their people — adequate food, good health, literacy, education, and gentle employment. In the now famous speech made at Holy Cross commencement exercises in June 1964, President Johnson described the great world society as a place where every man can find a life free from hunger and disease — a life offering the chance to seek spiritual fulfillment unhampered by the degradation of bodily misery.

At the last Assembly, a major proposal was made by the director-general for a World Health Research Center. The U.S. is on record as favoring the fullest development of the research potential of the World Health Organization. The nations of the world have long looked to WHO as the leader in international health affairs, and this leadership should not be allowed to falter.

HUMANITARIANISM DEMANDS health for its own sake. As economic resources develop, they should be employed to attack preventable diseases wherever they occur. There still remain groups and sectors in the world population which are susceptible to many preventable diseases and could greatly benefit from control programs.

Important as short-term campaigns against individual communicable diseases may be, however, the greater benefit comes from well-oriented, long range programs. This is particularly true with respect to diseases such as tuberculosis.

TUBERCULOSIS CAN BE ERADICATED. To reach this goal, however, there

must be thorough planning from the very beginning. The fact that long-term planning is essential should not be an excuse for delay but should instead be a stimulus for getting on with the job as soon as possible.

We have already had amazing results along this line in the U.S. Ten years after the licensing of the Salk vaccine, polio has been practically wiped out in the U.S. In 1964 we had only 93 cases of paralytic polio. This has been one of the most dramatic success stories of this generation.

Today new drugs are being discovered at a rapid rate and some of these discoveries will be the ammunition for our war on disease. Some, however, may create more problems than they solve. The U.S. has long been interested in the development of a satisfactory method for monitoring adverse drug reactions on an international basis. Expert committees and scientific groups have met on this matter and these groups are agreed on the urgency of collecting and rapidly transmitting information on drug reactions.

WE IN THE U.S. ARE EVER INTERESTED and ready to share our medical knowledge as well as our training and research facilities with the other countries of the world. Therefore we continue to support and encourage the development of a world-wide health communications service as an integral part of WHO, and to help accomplish this we are offering the U.S. National Library of Medicine as a major facility for such a program.

for the department so that it may put more inspectors to work. Without stepping up the frequency of inspections, penalties will continue to be evaded, record-keeping will continue to be faulty, and chiseling will continue to go on.

The reason is obvious. In 1964, with the number of inspections at a peak, the Department of Labor was able to inspect only 5 percent of covered firms. At that rate, an average firm gets to be inspected once in 20 years! That's no way to plug a leak—in water or in wages.

CHALLENGE FACING NEGRO COMMUNITY

"Along This Way" column by Executive Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People which appeared in August 27 issue of the New York Amsterdam News.

THE MOST TRAGIC PICTURE OUT OF THE Los Angeles horror riot was that of several small Negro children trying to open a cash register that had already been looted.

The most frightening riot cry, because of its unbelievable ignorance, was, "This is the Negro Revolution!" Whether riots erupt out of the unbearable, repeat unbearable, oppressions of a suffering population or whether they are stimulated, they benefit no people, help no cause.

According to the picture, little children are being taught early that rifling cash registers is a method of living approved by the society in which they live. A Harlem street speaker is reported as telling his small crowd that the Los Angeles rioters should be called "Freedom Fighters." Another picture from the City of Angels shows one of these "Freedom Fighters" leaning through a broken store window calmly selecting which pair of shoes he will steal.

SOME FREEDOM AND SOME FIGHTER! God help black Americans if this is their revolution and these their revolutionaries!

Negro citizens in Los Angeles have just grievances. The Watts area has the lowest per capita income in the entire city except that of skid row bums. Black Angelenos have had a hard and unsympathetic police chief and department on their backs for more than fifteen years. It was a police incident that set off the riot.

But no grievances are settled by mob action and senseless mass destruction of property. The remedy lies in a determined and inescapable presentation of the grievances to the proper authorities with the widest possible publicity and the smartest possible use of political strength. A high caliber, non-partisan, biracial inquiry commission would help.

Choosing the emotional outlet of rioting and anarchy could mean the enthronement of thievery as an ideal of the "Freedom Movement." It could mean a society-sanctioned practice of hating people for their skin color alone—a practice Negroes have fought since 1619.

RIDING WITH THE EVER-PRESENT (BUT

diminishing) discriminations and inequalities imposed from without, when do we do something about ourselves, within our own group? Why don't we go to school, at night if need be, to learn the difference between a revolution and a riot? Or that freedom means more nose-grinding work, much more study and failure, much more discipline and restraint, much more compassion, than slavery or segregation ever did?

Of course the Los Angeles riot hurt the cause of civil rights because it gave free ammunition in generous amounts to Negro haters in the Southern California hot-bed and over the nation. The riot may even help elect an ultra-conservative as Governor.

But, along with this damage, the riot revealed sicknesses that, unless cured by the people themselves, can hurt the Negro community's forward movement. Real opportunities are at last opening up for the black minority. The machinery to enable it to win its share has been provided. Allies, including government, stand ready to aid. There need be no more riots for both blacks and whites to lose.

The big question mark is in the Negro community. Is it adult or is it still a ward?

By ROY WILKINS